[P. 60b]

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states that men slept there regularly during the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat house only when it was empty of men, as it was at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was chiefly during very cold weather that they went in to warm themselves, and they left instantly when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes women sat just outside to listen, if the men within were singing especially well, but ran off when the inmates were about to emerge.

562 515

Sweats were often held twice a day, sometimes one in the morning, and invariably one in the late afternoon. Though it was the winatum's duty to keep the sweat house provided with some wood, the major portion of the supply was brought by the individuals who were going to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they were needed: there was no fire-tender's office. An intensive sweat seems to have been the vogue. Many informants speak of participants staggering as though drunk when they left the sweat house. After the sweat there was a general rush to the river for a swim. The men then returned to the sweat house to sleep or lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when the evening meal was ready.

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A village of any size had at least two sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be built by a group of friends, though there was no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership involved. If the number of men in a village was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more appropriate to their needs; especially was it more easily heated. When one burned down, as they occasionally did, or the supporting timbers of an old structure weakened beyond repair, steps were taken toward building a new one. Men would talk among themselves about it; then the chief was consulted. While his permission was not absolutely necessary, he usually directed, by means of his winatum, the construction of a new sweat house. Three or four men whose skill was recognized were selected to undertake the job. They were paid for their services by the chief, who received contributions for the purpose from the men of the village. Apparently there was no fixed fee: informants said each man "would give a little bit," or that occasionally workers were not paid "because they wanted the new sweat house too."

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The area of a sweat house floor was excavated about two feet. Digging sticks were used to loosen the soil which was piled into

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[146] Ibid. Pages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were probably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147] This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi·). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´·osn·l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped
[354] to keep it from tipping over.

The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was con-
[574] sidered desirable, "because there was no smoke there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the
[48] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men
● 562 tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of
[586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row
386 if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar-
622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.---The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

756 Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
● [562] members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a
764 shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die. Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.---It was thought that a
551 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a
422 hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Headman, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally came to regard it as sacred.